

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

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S E C R E T MBFR VIENNA 0099

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: REPORT OF BILATERAL

MEETING JUNE 19, 1974 BETWEEN FRG DEPREP

AND POLISH DEPREP

FOLLOWING IS MEMO OF BILATERAL MEETING BETWEEN
FRG DEP REP HOFMANN AND POLISH DEP REP WOJTOWICZ WHICH
WAS CIRCULATED AT JUNE 21 MEETING.

BEGIN TEXT:

1. CONVERSATION ON JUNE 19 BETWEEN THE GERMAN DEPUTY
REPRESENTATIVE AND HIS (ROTATING) POLISH OPPOSITE

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NUMBER ON THE RECENTLY AMENDED EASTERN PROPOSAL

FOR AN INITIAL REDUCTION AGREEMENT COVERED THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

2. WOJTOWICZ STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE "MOVE" EAST HAD MADE DURING THE INFORMAL TALKS ON JUNE 18. REMARKING THAT EAST HAD IN PRINCIPLE BEEN READY FOR A MOVE OF THIS KIND ALREADY BEFORE EASTER, 2. INDICATED THAT THE SHOWING OF EASTERN FLEXIBILITY AT THE PRESENT TIME WAS, DESIGNED TO HAVE SOME IMPACT

ON THE FORTHCOMING BILATERAL US/SU SUMMIT MEETING IN MOSCOW. HE EXPRESSED, HOWEVER, DOUBTS WHETHER PRESIDENT NIXON AND GENERAL SECRETARY BRESHNEV WOULD AT ALL DEAL WITH MBFR IN DETAIL.

3. W. STATED THAT RESULTS COULD NOT BE EXPECTED IF THE NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUED TO FOCUS ON POSITIONS OF PRINCIPLE. THEY WOULD ALL HAVE TO MAKE WAY FOR MORE PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS. THUS THE PRINCIPLE THAT "ALL FORCES MUST BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET" HAD TO BE DROPPED AS WELL AS THE PRINCIPLE OF "REDUCTION OF GROUND FORCES ONLY". AS FAR AS THIS QUESTION WAS CONCERNED, THE "MIDDLE GROUND" WOULD BE "GROUND FORCES PLUS SOMETHING ELSE".

4. UPON QUESTION, W. JUST ABOUT ADMITTED THAT THE EASTERN GROUP HAD ACCEPTED THE NECESSITY OF GIVING IN TO THE INITIAL IMPLEMENTATION OF SOME AMERICAN AND SOVIET REDUCTIONS ONLY. HE EXPLAINED THAT A TIME-TABLE COULD FORESEE SEVERAL FURTHER IMPLEMENTATION STEPS, POSSIBLY REDUCTIONS IN FURTHER PAIRS, MENTIONING UK/CSSR AND FRG/POLAND.

5. WITH REFERENCE TO THE PROPOSAL OF FINISHING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL INITIAL STAGE REDUCTIONS BY THE END OF 1975, W. VIRTUALLY SOLICITED COUNTER-PROPOSALS EXTENDING THIS PERIOD.

6. WHEN THE ABSENCE OF ANY MENTIONING OF THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT WAS BROUGHT TO HIS ATTENTION, W.
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REPEATEDLY STATED THAT THE QUESTION OF A GLOBAL CEILING WITHOUT NATIONAL SUBCEILINGS WAS NEGOTIABLE. IN THIS CONTEXT HE BLAMED HIMSELF FOR HAVING INSISTED ON EXPLORING THE MEANING OF THE "EUROPEAN CLAUSE" IN WESTERN STATEMENTS. IT APPEARED TO HIM THAT THIS HAD PROMPTED A "HEIGHTENED CONSCIOUSNESS" IN THE WEST OF THE CONDITIONS OF A POSSIBLE WEST-EUROPEAN MILITARY COOPERATION. WE HAD MADE A SIMILAR MISTAKE POINTING

OUT FAVOURABLE POSSIBILITIES FOR THE EAST POSSIBLY
CONNECTED WITH THE NEGOTIATIONS OF WHICH EASTERN
PLANNERS HAD NOT THOUGHT ORIGINALLY.

7. W. ADMITTED THAT THE "MICRO-SCALE" PROBLEMS WHICH
WERE MANAGEABLE IN AN INITIAL PHASE WOULD HAVE TO
BE SEEN IN CONTEXT WITH THE "MACRO-SCALE" OF THE
NEGOTIATIONS: THEIR OVERALL RESULT. FROM THIS HE
DREW THE CONCLUSION THAT THE QUESTION OF "CEILINGS"
- NOT OF "COMMON CEILINGS" - WOULD HAVE TO BE ADDRESSED.

8. THE EASTERN INSISTANCE ON THE INCLUSION OF ARMAMENTS IN
REDUCTIONS WAS EXPLAINED BY W. AS BEING IN THE
PARTICULAR INTEREST OF COUNTRIES SITUATED WITHIN THE
AREA OF REDUCTIONS. SINCE THEY COULD NOT WITHDRAW
THEIR ARMAMENT, EXCEPT FOR THE DOUBTFUL OPTION OF
EXPORTING IT, THEY COULD ONLY DESTROY OR STOCK ("CADER")
IT. IF THE LATTER METHOD WERE ADOPTED, THE NEGOTIATIONS
MIGHT ONLY RESULT IN AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT ON CADERING
FORCES. PUBLIC OPINION WOULD DISAPPROVE OF THIS.

9. THE GERMAN DEP REP EXPLAINED THAT NATO HAD NOT
PROPOSED REDUCTIONS IN WESTERN ARMAMENT BECAUSE
THIS WOULD RESULT IN DIMINISHING THEIR SECURITY,
GIVEN THE UNALTERABLE CAPABILITY OF SWIFT SOVIET
REENFORCEMENT. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE EAST SHOULD
BE CONSCIOUS OF THE FACT THAT A LIMITATION OF GROUND
FORCES PERSONNEL FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES INDIRECTLY
ALSO AFFECTED ARMAMENTS. W. COMMENTED THAT THE WEST
COULD NOT EXPECT A ONE-SIDED EASTERN INCLUSION OF
ARMAMENTS IN REDUCTIONS. NUCLEAR WEAPONS, A FAVOURITE
POLISH TOPIC, WERE NOT MENTIONED BY HIM.

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10. AS AGREED IN THE AHG ON JUNE 19, THE GERMAN DEP REP
CHARACTERIZED
THE AMENDED EASTERN PROPOSAL FOR AN
INITIAL REDUCTION STEP. WHILE INSUFFICIENT AND MUCH
TO SMALL, AS A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. A MERE
STAGGERING OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF REDUCTIONS COULD NOT
ANSWER OUR LEGITIMATE REQUIREMENTS FOR PHASING. EQUALLY
IMPORTANT, NATO COUNTRIES COULD NOT CONSIDER A FIRST
AGREEMENT WHICH DID NOT SATISFACTORILY ADDRESS THE
ISSUE OF THE FINAL OUTCOME OF BOTH PHASES, THEREBY
PREJUDICING FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS IN FAVOUR OF MAINTAINING
THE PRESENT IMBALANCE IN THE GROUND FORCE RELATIONSHIP.
END TEXT.RESOR

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